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COMMERCIAL UNION
IN
NORTH AMERICA.

SOME LETTERS, PAPERS, AND SPEECHES.

"Nature seems to have taken a particular care to disseminate her blessings among the different regions of the world, with an eye to the mutual intercourse and traffic among mankind, that the nations of the several parts of the globe might have a kind of dependence upon one another, and be united together by their common interest." —ADAMSON.

NEW YORK:

ERASTUS WIMAN, 37 BROADWAY.

COMMERCIAL UNION

BETWEEN THE

UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

SOME LETTERS, PAPERS, AND SPEECHES.

"We live in a new and exceptional age. America is another name for Opportunity. Its whole history appears like a last effort of the Divine Providence on behalf of the human race."—EMERSON.

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NEW YORK:

ERASTUS WIMAN, 314 BROADWAY.

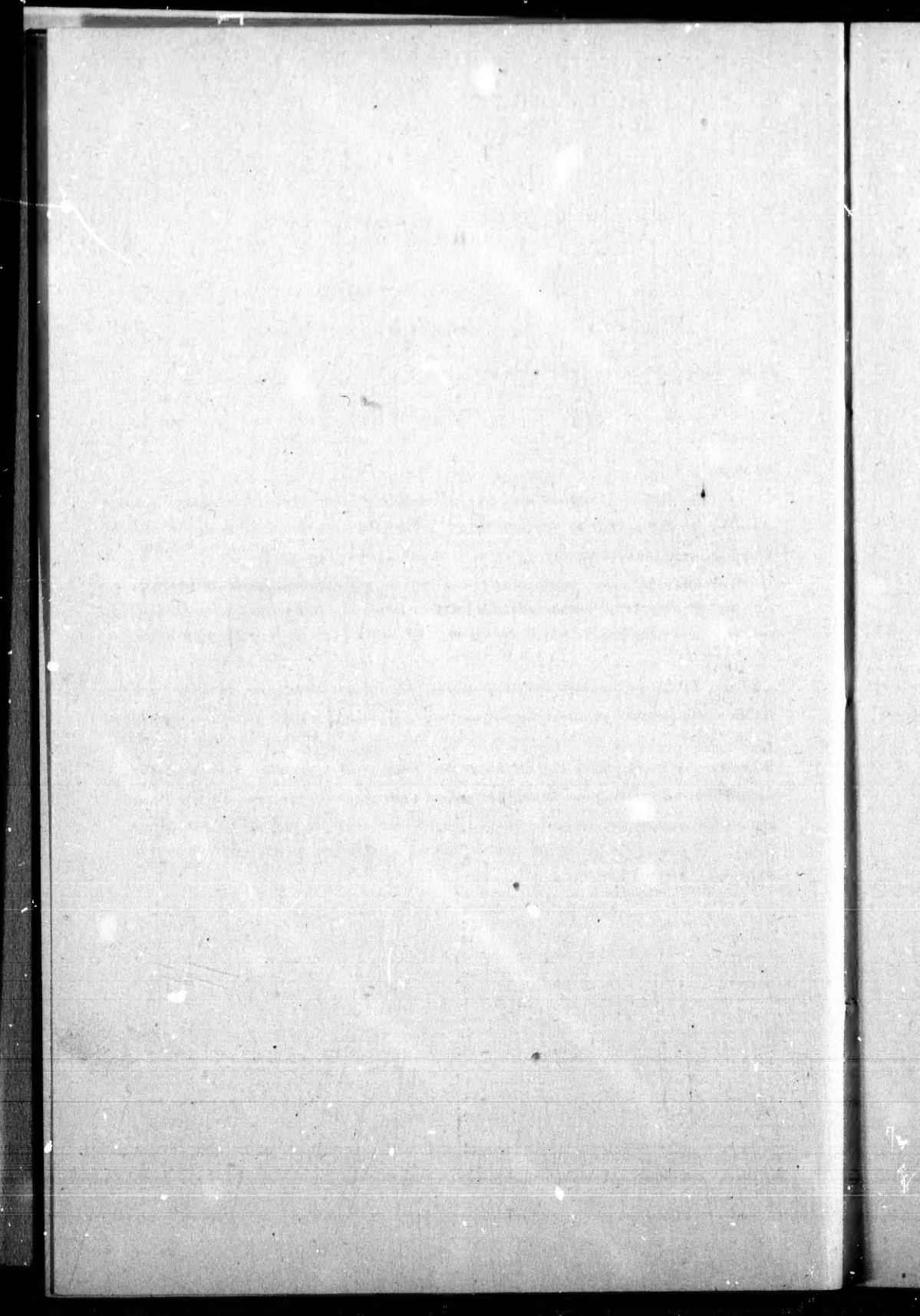
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INTRODUCTORY.

In the following pages are grouped together some Letters, Papers, and Speeches on the subject of COMMERCIAL UNION between the United States and Canada. No attempt is made to include anything like a complete list of publications on this topic, but simply to rescue from the oblivion of a daily newspaper, and put in permanent form, some productions which might otherwise be difficult of access. The compilation will be added to from time to time as occasion may arise. The object is to make accessible some views regarding this question, which is perhaps, in its extent and eventual effects, the largest question now before the public. On the next page will be found a copy of the bill introduced into Congress by the Hon. BENJAMIN BUTTERWORTH, which may well form a basis for the discussion which impends on this important topic. The publisher apologizes for permitting so large a space to be filled with his own productions; but, having given the subject a good deal of attention, he prints his views in default of something better. Copies of the pamphlet can be had on application to the address on the title page.



THE BUTTERWORTH BILL

To provide for full Reciprocity between the United States and the Dominion of Canada.

WHEREAS controversies have arisen and are now existing between the Government of the United States and the Government of the Dominion of Canada, growing out of the construction of treaties affecting fishing interests; and

WHEREAS, by reason of the contiguity of the two countries and the similarity of the interests and occupations of the people thereof, it is desired by the United States to remove all existing controversies and all causes of controversy in the future, and to promote and encourage business and commercial intercourse between the people of both countries, and to promote harmony between the two Governments, and to enable the citizens of each to trade with the citizens of the other without restriction and irrespective of boundaries, as fully and freely as though there was no boundary-line between the two countries: Therefore,

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That whenever, and as soon as the Government of the said Dominion of Canada shall, by act of her Parliament, permit all articles of trade and commerce of whatever name or nature, whether the product of the soil or of the waters of the United States, or manufactured articles, live stock of all kinds, and its products, minerals and coal the products of the mines of the United States, to enter the ports of the said Dominion of Canada free of duty, then all articles manufactured in Canada, and all products of the soil and waters, and all minerals and coal product of the mines of the said Dominion of Canada, and all other articles of every name and description produced in said Dominion of Canada, shall be permitted to enter the ports of the United States free of duty; it being the intention of this act to provide for absolute reciprocity of trade between the two countries as to all articles of whatever name or nature produced in the said countries respectively.

SEC. 2. That when it shall be certified to the President of the United States by the proper officials of the Government of the said Dominion of Canada that the said last-named Government, by act of Parliament, has authorized the admission into the ports of said

Government of all articles of trade and commerce produced in the United States, free of duty, the President shall make proclamation thereof, and shall likewise proclaim that all articles produced in the said Dominion of Canada shall be admitted into all the ports of the United States free of duty, and such articles shall be so admitted into the ports of the United States free of duty so long as the said Dominion of Canada shall admit the products of the United States, as herein provided for, into her ports free of duty.

SEC. 3. That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized, with the approval of the President of the United States, in connection with the proper officials of the Government of the said Dominion of Canada, to make rules and regulations for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of this act, and to protect the said respective Governments against the importation of foreign goods through either into the other; and the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States shall furnish to the customs officers of the United States such rules and regulations for the purpose of guiding them in the discharge of their duties in respect to the protection of each of the said Governments against improper importation of foreign goods as herein contemplated.

COMMERCIAL UNION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

LETTER FROM HON. ROBERT R. HITT,
REPRESENTATIVE IN THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS, FROM ILLINOIS.

DEAR SIR:

For several years I have believed that our troubles with Canada would never be permanently and satisfactorily settled by any measure short of commercial union, and the removal of all restrictions upon trade and intercourse between the two countries. As to other nations, both could maintain a tariff, set limitations upon fishing privileges, and upon participation in the coast trade; but as to each other every barrier should be swept away in a commercial union.

Partial arrangements and half-way measures must fail hereafter, as they have all failed heretofore, and troubles arise again. The reason lies in the position and circumstances of the two nations. Canada, however large it may appear on the map, is really a long, unequal strip of population, extending from East to West thousands of miles, everywhere right beside us. The portions, or Provinces, along the line differ widely, in many respects, but they agree in this: that they seem to be less to each other than to the States close at hand.

The natural lines of commerce for the exchange of products are not so much East and West as North and South. It is the unlike products coming from different latitudes that seek exchange. Intercourse, active and profitable, there will always be between this country and Canada. Restrictions irritate, and are always liable to breed troubles. Now, if they can be removed without injury to either party, the Canadian question will disappear, and two harmonious peoples will flourish beside each other with mutual good will and respect.

The fishery question has been four times settled, as statesmen supposed, first by one and then another arrangement, all of which proved temporary; and it is again in dispute. The trading intercourse has been under incessant discussion. The partial reciprocity treaty of 1854 was at first popular and promising. It included a considerable list of articles to be mutually admitted free. But the ill-fortune that has attended all our diplomacy with the North soon appear here

again. The reciprocity proved one-sided, and we terminated it after twelve years' trial. So skillfully had it been framed, so far were we outwitted in negotiation, that under it we had given to the Canadians a market free of duty for \$229,000,000 worth of their products, while they gave us a free market for scarce half as much. It admitted into the United States free of duty 94 per cent. of all Canada sold us, while they collected duties on 42 per cent. of all we sold to them. It gave them our great market free for their crops, in competition with our own farmers, and it excluded our manufactures from Canada. To this, or any other partial arrangement, the people of the United States will never again consent.

They would probably accept commercial union, with unrestricted trade, common fishing rights, and coast trade privileges. An equalized tariff would abolish the expensive double line of Custom Houses and officers along the border, and all consular service in Canada, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. This would be a large saving to both sides. The coast provinces could freely sell coal to New England, and Pennsylvania could supply coal to Upper Canada. The Manitoba farmers could buy their implements and supplies and sell their crops in St. Paul, or where they pleased. It would give Western farmers free lumber, and would open a wide market for the products of the Canadian forests. It would secure to our fishermen rights to fish on every shore clear to the Pole, to buy bait and everything else, and it would give our people free fish.

The Tariff would have to be the same, and internal revenue taxation the same, in Canada and the United States, or there would be infinite fraud and disturbance of trade. This would require some changes, but not great ones. The Canadian Tariff is now not very far from ours. It collects on the total imports into Canada about 10 per cent. lower average duty than does ours on the total imports into the United States. The internal revenue taxes on whiskey and tobacco are now not very different.

Receipts from revenue might fairly be divided between the two countries according to population. The rate of revenue now collected by our Government from customs and internal revenue is about \$6.07 per inhabitant; that in Canada is about \$5.90. In a commercial union, with a common tariff and the border free, probably a larger part of the imports of Canada than at present would enter by way of New York and the New England ports, and the receipts at Canadian ports would, of course, correspondingly fall off. This would have to be adjusted by passing over a fair proportion of the revenue to Canada. All these details could soon be fairly settled if the matter were once earnestly undertaken.

Who would oppose it? In this country, some special interests fearing Canadian competition in the trade in logs, the supply of fish, and in barley, perhaps; but with general discussion this would be soon overcome, in view of the great advantages to be gained. Within five years, it would probably double our sales to Canada, already about \$50,000,000 annually. In fact, we now export more to Canada than to all the Central and South American States. Every one would see the benefits of a wider market for our manufactures, and an ampler supply of raw materials. Our rapidly disappearing forests, which will be all gone in 25 years, at the present rate of destruction, would be re-enforced by the vast woods of Canada.

Many of our people distrust reciprocity treaties, and changing revenue laws by diplomacy. That is the proper work of Congress, and of Congress alone. Some would fear that a common tariff with a foreign country would make the whole system unchangeable in any particular without the consent of both, and thus practically put it beyond the power of Congress, where the Constitution puts it. But we can at any time withdraw from a commercial union, if it works unfairly, and no power can be taken from Congress, or be even limited, except by the action of Congress itself.

It may be said that the opposition of England will be fatal—that negotiations must be through the British government, which would never consent to be placed in a less favorable position than the United States by the Canadian tariff. It is not certain whether she has the power to control the question, or the position to stubbornly oppose the measure. Sir Alexander Galt said, in 1880 and at other times, that Canada had the whole power over duties. The Marquis of Lorne, Governor-General, said, in 1882, to the Canadian Parliament: "You have the power to make treaties on your own responsibility with foreign nations;" but he added, "and your high com-

missioner is associated, for purposes of negotiation, with the Foreign Office."

In fact, they have legislated as they pleased touching the tariff upon English as well as other goods. The limit of their treaty-making power would seem to exclude Canada from making any treaty affecting the Dominion as a portion of the British Empire. Judging by the past, and by the facility with which England has consented to each step in Canadian independence, it is not likely that the Imperial Government would inflexibly resist a general desire of the Canadian people for a common tariff arrangement with the United States.

In Canada it would meet the active opposition of certain manufacturing interests, who would dread the rivalry of cheaper American goods in their line of production; of all the official class, who would of course struggle hard to preserve everything as it is; and of all those more immediately under English influence, whose first thought would be that such a measure would tend to exclude English goods by the tariff, while admitting the American free of duty; and they would, no doubt very sincerely, regard it as almost equivalent to annexation. But, among the Canadian people generally, the discussion of the proposition would strengthen it with the great majority. The powerful mercantile class in every town and village would be the first to favor it, and the farmers would soon understand it. Perhaps a vague apprehension of annexation would be felt, but with general discussion of the subject, and its business aspects, this would disappear. They would soon realize that our citizens are no longer eager to incorporate new peoples; that they refused the rich and populous island of St. Thomas, and the republic of San Domingo, in both of which the people had all voted for annexation; that they discourage and detest filibustering; that Alaska was reluctantly accepted after we found ourselves bound in a compact with Russia, who had recently been to us a good friend in the hour of trouble. Americans do not care to see a dozen senators and forty members in Congress representing a new population suddenly brought into the Union. The immense vacant region of good lands in the northwest would be welcome, but it will be long before we will consent to incorporate peoples. The work of assimilating the diverse elements we now have is quite enough for us.

In one sense, there would be a business annexation of each nation by the other; but it would be in a harmony of interests, a growth and development of both, that would lead both to greatness, independence and peace.

ROBERT R. HITT.

Washington, D. C., April 11.

CONTINENTAL FREE TRADE.

LETTER FROM GOLDWIN SMITH.

To the Editor of THE PHILA. AMERICAN:

You have done me the honor to ask me, among others, to express an opinion on the subject of Commercial Union, which has at last been brought within the field of practical discussion.

I have long maintained, for my part, that continental Free Trade, with a full reciprocity of all commercial advantages and privileges, was the dictate of nature for the English speaking people of this continent, and the only satisfactory solution of the fisheries question and of all commercial questions between Canada and the United States.

A mere reciprocity treaty, such as we had before, is very difficult to negotiate, on account of the antagonisms of interests and parties, and when concluded it has but a precarious existence, being liable to be overturned, with the industries built upon it, by any gust of international discord, such as that which was produced by the *Trent* affair. Nor does it relieve us of the expense, annoyance, and estranging influence of the customs line. What we want is to be rid of the customs line, so that capital, enterprise, and commercial life may circulate with perfect freedom through the whole continent. It is needless to dilate on the benefits of such a change. That Canada would be a great gainer few Canadians, I believe, doubt; and commercial men in this country, especially in the Western States, seem to think that the benefit would be mutual.

Of the fisheries question there appears to be no final and happy settlement but complete participation, such as existed before the American Revolution had divided the Western from the Eastern portion of the great Anglo-Saxon realm. The fishermen being rough men, and naturally jealous of anything like encroachment on their livelihood, will be apt to put harsh and irritating constructions on any treaty regulations that you can make, and the trouble will be constantly renewed.

The Provinces of Canada, in respect of their commercial interests, are connected, not with each other, but with the States adjoining each of them on the South; the Maritime Provinces with New England; Ontario and Quebec with New York and Pennsylvania; Manitoba and the Northwestern Territories with Minnesota and Dakota; British Columbia with the States

on the Pacific Coast. The Maritime Provinces feel this keenly, and the discontent excited by their commercial severance from New England is laying a heavy strain on Canadian confederation.

Commercial union would of course involve assimilation of tariffs, which, however, since the raising of Canadian import duties has brought the tariffs more nearly to a level, would present no insurmountable obstacle to negotiation. It would also involve an assimilation of the liquor duties, to preclude fraudulent importation, but here again no serious difficulty would be encountered, nor need there be much disturbance of the fiscal system on either side.

An attempt is being made, as you are aware, in Canada, to force commercial prosperity by means of a protective system. But whatever may be the results of protection in the case of the United States, which form a continent producing almost everything in itself, for Canada, with her uniformly cold climate and her limited range of protection, the system is unquestionably a failure. Its necessary effects, as Canadians will soon become convinced, are misdirection of capital and industry, financial deficit, dearth of living, and consequent depopulation. In Manitoba and the Northwest especially, which are purely agricultural, and require perfectly free importation of implements and of everything necessary for the farmer in a newly settled country, the pressure of the system has already been felt. Our Canadian manufacturers cannot hope long to keep things as they are, and they will probably be led to perceive that their best chance of protection against the competition which they have most reason to dread lies in placing themselves under the shelter of the American tariff. I speak as one who is neither a Protectionist nor a purist of Free Trade, but who recognizes in all fiscal matters the force of special circumstances, and the necessity of dealing tenderly with established systems, and the industrial interests which have been built upon them.

The unnatural character of the commercial division between the Dominion and the United States leads already to a great deal of smuggling. When the Canadian North-west fills up, it will hardly be possible to maintain a protective tariff, to which the border popula-

tion is opposed, along an open frontier of eight hundred miles.

Opposition on the part of Great Britain to a commercial union of this continent is not to be apprehended. Sir John Macdonald, by his "National Policy," has already taken Canada completely out of the commercial unity of the Empire, and he has proclaimed fiscal home rule for Canada in the most emphatic terms. The British people are aware of this; and in spite of the curious fever-fit of Imperial Federation which is passing over some of them, the mass of them have a growing conviction that they have no interest in interfering with affairs on this side of the Atlantic. Only speak them fair, instead of bullying or denouncing them, and you will find no difficulty on their side.

Canadian politicians, jealous for the integrity of their separate sphere, are apt to look askance at commercial union, because they

fear that it may bring political annexation in its train. But if the two sections of the English-speaking population of this continent ever unite, it will be because in race, language, religion, and institutions they are one people, not because a customs line which ran between them has been removed. Take away every custom-house on the Pyrenees, and there will be no tendency to a union of France with Spain. The Zollverein would have done little towards the unification of Germany without unifying agencies of a far more potent kind. Of any wish to aggress upon Canadian independence I have never, in all my intercourse, with Americans, perceived the slightest indication. Canada, when the customs line which strangles her commerce has been abolished, will be still the mistress of her own political destinies. No community which is really a nation can desire more.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

THE WAY OUT OF THE CANADIAN DIFFICULTY.

EDITORIAL FROM THE "PHILADELPHIA AMERICAN."

The British Government has forwarded to Washington a proposal for the settlement of our dispute with Canada, which it hopes will help to more amicable relations between the Dominion and the United States. It has the more hope of this as it does not approach the question on the ground of mere technicalities, as the Ottawa government has done. It does not support Canada in the determination to exact the pound of flesh which the treaty of 1818 seems to call for. It recognizes the fact that within the seventy years which have elapsed since that treaty was made, the whole atmosphere of international law has changed to one of courtesy and ampler liberty, and that the United States holds a very different place in the commerce and diplomacies of the world. We are sorry to be obliged to say that the diplomacy of Ottawa has been too much in the temper of the proverbial "country attorney." We are not surprised that London thinks proper to take a different attitude toward the case.

It is, however, true that a settlement of the dispute by English interference, and in contravention of the ideas of Canada as to her own interests, however reasonable in itself, it is not to our liking as Americans. It seems to us that the two chief powers of the Western world, the foremost representatives of its civilization, ought to be able to come to an understanding without this intervention from an other continent and from a power substantially alien to both in its interests and its ideas of policy. It is not in harmony with the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine, however little it may run counter to its letter. Canada cannot but feel with some bitterness, that English intervention necessarily takes character from the views of British interests, which are accepted by the government for the time in power in London, and feel that—as in the Fortune Bay case—whether the decision be just or unjust, it will have the air of an offence toward her. It cannot but be in harmony with her feelings, if Americans were to look past these English proposals, and seek some *modus vivendi* which would be acceptable to her, and promotive of her interests as an American power.

Two arrangements have been tested, and we are on the eve of trying a third, none of which can be pronounced successful. Reciprocity with the United States was an

entire failure, because it neither secured any agreement in the policy of the two countries, nor arranged for any fresh adaptation in case one of them changed its policy. The arrangement, which was not unfair in 1854, became grossly so before 1867. The settlement effected by the Treaty of Washington was found equally oppressive to American interests, and although we had paid heavily for our share of the bargain, it was we who terminated it at the earliest moment, and Canada who desired its continuance. The policy of irritating restrictions which Canada has begun, and which the United States probably will adopt by way of retaliation, cannot be regarded as either normal or desirable between countries so closely associated in neighborhood, in the community of so many interests. All these have failed, or will fail; and it remains to seek some other which will be better adapted to the interests of both countries, and calculated to put an end to the irritating frictions which have attended all these.

The plain common sense of the situation seems to us to point to a policy exactly the reverse of the policy of restriction of intercourse. We are two nations very similarly circumstanced. Both are made up of men who are building up in the new world social structures based on all that is best in the civilization of the old. Both have much the same national resources, the same capacity as producers, the same wants as consumers. Both have been obliged to find, in the protective policy, the means to develop an industrial system suited to the demands of their natural situation. Neither is content to make shift with agricultural, cattle raising, and the scanty manufactures which could not but come without collective action in the fostering of other industries. In language, in faith, in culture, in governmental methods, the two countries more closely resemble each other than either resembles any other in either the old or the new world.

Why, then, not establish absolute freedom of commercial intercourse between them, and abolish the costly line of commercial demarcation, which at present sunders them? The only obstacle to such a plan is the difference in the tariffs of the two countries. But this difference is much diminished by the revision of our tariff in 1883, following the adoption

of Protection by Canada in 1879. To effect the establishment of agreement on this point there would be no need of any formal treaty through the intervention of English diplomacy. All that would be necessary would be the assimilation of both tariffs to an agreement reached by a commission of conference, together with the removal of all duties from articles which cross the common frontier in either direction. This would carry with it the perfect equalization of the status of the fishermen of both nationalities, both on the fishing-banks, and in our ports and markets.

It will be objected that this arrangement will sacrifice the interests of certain classes in both countries. Let us look at these severally.

The fishermen of Canada and of the United States will be left free to compete with each other for the American market, on terms equally favorable to both. Our fishermen will secure access to the inshore fisheries, the right to purchase bait, the right to land and dry their fish, the right to forward fresh fish to American markets by rail. There will be an end to the bounties to Canadian fishermen paid by the Dominion Government. At the same time the Canadian fishermen will obtain the right to send their fish to our markets free of duty. The position of the two classes will be equalized as never before, and the questions now in dispute simply will disappear. Under the terms of equality thus established, and never before enjoyed by our fishermen, the hardy sons of New England will hold their own, and do their share in building up that industry to which we look for our supply of trained seamen.

It is alleged that our lumber interest will be sacrificed by the free importation of Canadian boards and planks. But we already import saw-logs free of duty; and our supply of many sorts of timber is so exhausted that we should gain by a greater facility to draw on the ample Canadian supply. On the tributaries of the St. Lawrence are great forests of fine timber which it now hardly pays to have taken to the United States, because of

the much heavier cost of sending saw-logs than sawed lumber. We must look at this question of the lumber supply broadly, in view of the national needs, and not simply with reference to this private interest. Lumber is a thing by itself. Its slow growth makes it a very different thing from a wheat or corn crop; the uses of trees in relation to the rain supply make a limited production of lumber a benefit rather than a loss. And the plant of the industry is neither too bulky nor too costly to prevent its transfer by its owners to the Ottawa.

On the Canadian side it is alleged that the new manufacturing industries of the Dominion will be hurt by the competition of those longer established on our side of the border. Will they be more in danger of such competition than are the newer manufactories of our own South and West? The truth is that in a growing continent like ours, with fresh population pouring in from the old world, markets are expanding whenever industries are in a normal condition. There always is room for the newer establishments in such a country, if they be not exposed to the crushing competition of the overdone industries of the old. And the Canadian industries have some important advantages in the possession of the great water-power of the St. Lawrence and the present cheapness of labor, which will enable them at least to hold their own against any competition they would have to encounter from us.

The establishment of such an arrangement would have an additional advantage to the protected industries of both countries, in that it would impart a permanence to the protective policy in both which it does not now possess. For the sake of this freedom of national intercourse the people of both would stand by Protection, as its abandonment, unless simultaneous in both, would involve the re-establishment of the custom-house line—a line which now sunders our continent, intercepts natural intercourse, and breeds disagreements between the two great Anglo-Saxon nationalities of the New World.

COMMERCIAL UNION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

LETTER FROM THE HON. J. W. LONGLEY,
ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF NOVA SCOTIA.

DEAR SIR:

The proposition to take down the custom houses between the United States and Canada, and provide for a common tariff against the rest of the world, is the most wide-reaching and important political matter now demanding the consideration of the great English-speaking communities of North America. It is momentous, not alone on account of the commercial difficulties it would overcome, and the commercial advantages it would secure to the people of both countries, but not less for its inevitable consequences upon the social and political relations between the two peoples, between the Empire and the Great Republic which has grown up in America.

Viewed from a Canadian standpoint, it seems the complement necessary to the commercial existence and prosperity of the Dominion. However warm the political sympathies may be between the several provinces of the Dominion—and there is a question about that—no one can honestly say that there is any natural commercial relationship between them. Between the Maritime Provinces and Ontario there is but little trade, and that little is, for the most part, artificial and profitless. Between Ontario and Manitoba there is some trade, but the latter province would prefer to trade with the States and Territories to the south of it. Between British Columbia and the rest of the Dominion there is scarcely any natural trade at all.

On the other hand, between the Maritime Provinces and the New England States there is the most natural and intimate commercial relationship, which no hostile barriers have been able to destroy. Between Ontario and the great States of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois and Michigan, there is a steady, active, and valuable trade. Between Manitoba and the Northwest, and Minnesota, Dakota and Montana, is the natural course of trade; while British Columbia finds its complement in California and Oregon. An examination of a large map of North America will reveal the whole situation at a glance.

Why this customs line, extending all the way from the Atlantic to the Pacific, should exist, is a problem for some ingenious intellect to solve. If it is a good thing to have custom houses dividing territories, then it would be the correct policy to intersect Ontario with a customs line, and to guard Cincinnati from the dangerous competition of Cleveland by a customs line between Northern and Southern Ohio. If the people of the United States were Turks or Chinese, there might be a reason for wishing to discourage intimate intercourse. If the inhabitants of Canada were Indians or Patagonians, then the United States might be indifferent in regard to all kinds of relationship. But, when it is considered that the people of the two countries are identical in race, language, laws and institutions, then these barriers indeed seem absurd and unaccountable.

But there are difficulties, and these can only be overcome by mutual forbearance and concession. The average American, confident of the position of his country, views the matter with indifference, and is disposed to treat Canada with contempt. Recognizing that the trade of the United States is yearly becoming more valuable and important to Canada than the trade of Great Britain, the ordinary American cannot understand why Canada should not at once bow down before her great neighbor and make terms. But the man who eliminates sentiment as a factor in making his calculations in regard to communities of men is sure to reach erroneous results. Sensible Canadians realize plainly enough that unrestricted trade with the United States would be of immense value, and they are anxious to secure it. But let it not be forgotten that Canada is a part of the British Empire, and the Canadian people are loyal to British interests, not in a sense of toadyism, but in a just sense of mutual obligation. Great Britain has always dealt fairly with Canada, and the people of Canada, if they are worthy of the race from which they sprang, will deal squarely with Great Britain. It is quite pos-

sible, at no distant date, a point may be reached when the interests of Canada and the interests of the Empire will begin to separate, and the two countries will pursue their career along divergent paths; but the feelings of mutual regard and attachment, it is to be hoped, will never be extinguished.

The people of the United States must approach the people of Canada on this question, not with the expectation that the latter are going, for the mere sake of commercial advantage, to throw the interests of the Empire aside, and join their interests with those of the great nation on their own continent; but, rather, that in a closer relationship between the two great countries of North America there may be a growth of that spirit of mutual regard between the United States and Great Britain which, during the past twenty years, has been so happily developing. I do not believe that Great Britain will interpose any obstacle to a Commercial Union between the United States and Canada, if the Canadian people give unmistakable evidence of a desire

for it. The more intimate and cordial the relations between Canada and the United States, the more rapidly will all indications of ill will between the British and American people disappear.

I have just had time to express a strong sense of the value and importance of a Commercial Union, and to hint at the spirit in which the United States—from whom such a proposition must emanate—should approach it. The passing of Mr. Butterworth's proposed measure by the American Congress will, in my judgment, be an enormous step in the accomplishment of this great object. The tempest in a teapot, over the wretched fisheries dispute, is unworthy of great and enlightened communities. Let us forget all about the herring and the codfish, and take a great step in the direction of natural trade, international comity, and the ultimate reunion of the English-speaking race.

J. W. LONGLEY.

Halifax, March 28, 1887.

MEMORANDUM CONCERNING CANADA.

FROM WHARTON BARKER, ESQ.,

-TO-

HON. WM. M. EVARTS, SENATOR OF THE UNITED STATES.

Philadelphia, January 5th, 1886.

The expiry of the settlement of the Fisheries Question, which was furnished by the Treaty of Washington, re-opens the still larger question of our commercial relations with the Dominion of Canada. President Cleveland has intimated his sympathy with the view that a closer connection with our neighbor on the North would be to the advantage of both countries; and there is the usual pressure from New England and northern New York for a revival of Reciprocity.

The general objections to treaties of reciprocity, which Mr. Cleveland's message has laid before Congress, apply with as much force to the case of Canada as to any others. There is one other and still greater objection in this case, that such a treaty with Canada would not relieve us from the necessity of maintaining along our Northern frontier a custom house line, whose growing costliness would be equalled only by its permanent inefficiency. And, as our last bargain of this kind with Canada showed, the establishment of Reciprocity is attended with constant and annoying disputes as to which party had got the better of the other, and which was carrying out its terms with the greater honesty.

The time seems ripe for a bolder and more statesmanlike arrangement with our neighbors on the North. For seven years past they have been following our example in protecting their home industries against foreign competition. This policy has had a large measure of success, and Canada is to-day more confirmed in its attachment to its National Policy, as it well calls it, than at the first. But there has been a limit to its success, which might have been foreseen from the first. The population of the Dominion is less than five million people, and these are divided by natural obstructions into groups, which have but little natural commerce with each other, while they would have much with the adjacent American States, if they were not sundered by political boundaries. The largest group—that in the two old Canadian provinces—numbered two million eight hundred thousand people in 1881. The development of a vigorous manufacturing system under such conditions is almost impossible; the market

accessible is too small for the existence of large and competing establishments, except in the case of few industries. For this reason the Protectionists of Canada have had to be content with statistical exhibits of the success of their policy in opening new channels of employment, which are far from what could be desired. With this experience behind them, there is every reason to believe that they are ready to consider a proposition to extend those markets, by becoming a part of our industrial area, and through the entire abolition of restraints upon commerce between the two nations.

A Commercial Union with Canada, such as is here proposed as preferable to reciprocity, would be established on the footing of a common tariff for both countries, and the distribution of the receipts from customs on the basis of population, or on some other basis that might be thought more equitable. As the present Canadian tariff contains many duties "for revenue only," its assimilation to our own would be attended by some loss of revenue to Canada; and it would not be unfair to guarantee her a sum equal to her present receipts for a number of years. By this arrangement the custom-houses of both countries would be along the Atlantic coast alone, and each group of the Canadian provinces would interchange its products with the adjacent group of American States, as freely as though all were parts of the same country. In a word, it would effect just such a fiscal revolution as in 1789 changed the thirteen American States from a number of isolated industrial communities, into a country connected by mutual services and benefits.

On the Canadian side of the line such an arrangement is distrusted by some, as a forerunner of what they are pleased to call annexation. Within the last twenty years the American people have given the world assurance enough that they are amply satisfied with the area Providence has assigned them, and that they find the problems they have already on their hands quite enough to tax their energies, without increasing them by adopting those of their neighbors. Canada has neither that homogeneity with our own people, nor that internal concord, which make

the proposition of her addition to us an attractive one. We have every reason for wishing well to her; none at all for desiring to absorb her. And the notion that commercial union involves political absorption, where the people concerned are not politically homogenous, is fully refuted by the example of England and Ireland.

No American interest would be adversely affected by this arrangement, while those of Canada would be greatly benefited. It is true that we would begin to draw more freely upon the forests of the Dominion for our supply of lumber, and that some opposition may, therefore, be expected from the lumber interests of Michigan. But in this matter it behooves us to have respect to larger national interests than those of the lumbermen. Our forests are rapidly disappearing before the demand for railroad-ties and other forms of lumber, and any arrangement that would check the drafts upon them would be a national benefit. The present duty on all lumber, but saw-logs, is a premium on the extinction of our American forests, whose removal would be a measure of national protection. Canada has enough and to spare for our use, and a drain which only implies the opening of her area to agriculture, means the detriment of ours through the disturbance of the rain supply over a large part of our area.

The Commercial union of the two countries would furnish the best possible solution of the fisheries question—that perennial puzzle of our diplomats. We should pay no price for the use of her fishing-grounds, and lay no restrictions on the importation of her fish. Our fishermen would have the same advantages and facilities of all kinds as her own; and the endless tangle of questions and disputes would disappear as completely as though we were the owners of the St. Lawrence Gulf.

The admission of Canadian shipping to our coasting trade would be a natural and, perhaps, a necessary feature of the arrangement. The people of the seaboard provinces, like those of our New England States, take to the seafaring life much more readily than do the inhabitants of our more southern coast. If once we were to adopt them heartily into our mercantile marine, we might look to them for the permanent and ample supply of shipping for our coastwise trade, and for that trade with the West Indies, which is now trans-

acted so largely in European bottoms. Our dependence upon Norwegian or Italian vessels for such a service as this would come to an end with the removal of the line of custom-house demarcation, which sundered us in the sea, as well as on the land, from our nearest American neighbors.

The relations of labor would not be modified by the new arrangement except so far as the increased prosperity of Canada would put a check to the immigration of her French people into the United States. At present the existence of a great supply of underpaid and unemployed labor across the border, works as badly for our workman, as does the influx of Irish labor into Great Britain for the British workman. It is in the interests of American labor that we should level up Canadian conditions by an industrial assimilation of the two countries, since there is no means of excluding the Canadian workman from our country, if any such were desirable. Already much has been done by the protective policy of Canada; but the same causes which have kept that from being a perfect success, have also operated to prevent Canadian wages and opportunities of employment from equalling ours.

Our task and that of the Canadians is the same. We are both engaged in the work of converting a great continent into a continent of civilization, freedom, and Christian faith. They are the only co-workers with us with whom we can feel the closest sympathy, for our neighbors southward are separated from us by barriers higher and more impassable than those of political division. If for a time Canada seemed to be drawn by attraction to an un-American ideal of her position, and to cherish political and industrial dependence upon Europe, that time has passed away. Every recent movement in her history has brought us into more intimate agreement as to the goal of our common endeavor, and the means by which it is to be attained. The time seems to have come for removing the last barrier to the closest fellowship in the administration of our common heritage of resources and capacities.

For these reasons, the appointment of a joint commission to open this question with the Canadian government, at the earliest date possible, is urgently desired by many of the people of both countries.

RESOLUTIONS

—OF THE—

NATIONAL BOARD OF TRADE.

ST. LOUIS SESSION, 1871.

Mr. PLUMER, of Boston: On behalf of the Committee appointed to confer with the Delegates from the Dominion Board of Trade, I beg to submit as their report the following resolution, unanimously recommended by them to the Board for its adoption:—

Resolved, That the Executive Council be directed to memorialize Congress to provide, by law, for the appointment of a Commission to meet Commissioners from the Dominion of Canada—should the Dominion Government appoint a like Commission—to negotiate a basis of a treaty between Great Britain and the United States for commercial relations with the Dominion of Canada upon the following, or some other broad and comprehensive principles:

1ST. The introduction of all manufactures and products of the United States into the Dominion of Canada, free of import duty, and the like concession by the United States to the manufactures and products of the Dominion.

2D. Uniform laws to be passed by both countries for the imposition of duties on imports, and for internal taxation; the sums collected from these sources to be placed in a common treasury, and to be divided between the two countries by a *per capita*, or some other equally fair ratio.

3D. The admission of Dominion built ships and vessels to American registry, enrollment, and license, and to all the privileges of the coasting and foreign trade.

4TH. The Dominion to enlarge its canals and improve the navigation of the St. Lawrence, and to aid in the building of any great lines of international railroad, and to place the citizens of the United States in the same position as to the use of such works as enjoyed by the citizens of the Dominion, the United States, and the several States, giving the citizens of the Dominion the same rights and privileges over works of the same character in the United States.

On motion of Mr. PLUMER, the report was taken up for consideration, and the resolution was adopted unanimously.

FROM A

UNITED STATES POINT OF VIEW.

MR. WIMAN BEFORE THE NEW YORK BOARD OF TRADE.

NEW YORK, February 23.—The following speech was delivered by the President of the Canadian Club before the New York Board of Trade and Transportation at the Hotel Brunswick:—

SWEEPING AWAY COMMERCE BARRIERS.

MR. WIMAN said that the possibilities arising out of the freest commercial relations between the United States and Canada were worthy of the highest consideration. A period in the history of the two countries had been reached when it was possible that all the commercial barriers between them could be swept away. The time had come, the speaker believed, when it was feasible that the commerce of the United States could pervade the whole northern continent, and that, without let or hindrance, the development of the North-West, which had been so marvellous, and which, so far as the United States were concerned, had now almost reached its boundary line, would continue to contribute to the greatness of this nation. This development within the Canadian lines had gone forward with a rapidity quite equal to that of the United States. The growth in all material respects of Canada, in her splendid cities, in the extension of her railways, the improvement of her public works, and in the steady progress of all that goes to make up a great nation, made her to-day a very attractive field for the extension of business.

Have you realized the magnitude of Canada? Its area covers 3,500,000 square miles, while that of the United States covers only 3,038,000 square miles. Canada is equal in extent to nearly the whole continent of Europe. It will be said that this is largely made up of inhospitable and unproductive regions. But the modification of the climate, through the influence of large bodies of fresh water, is sufficient to remove from it the reproach of sterility, till now its wheat-growing zone far exceeds that of the United States, and wheat was one of the most delicate of plants.

PROPOSED RECIPROCITY.

If between that great country, possessing many advantages which this country does not possess—if between these two great countries a complete commercial freedom should exist, is it not a question which should receive the most thorough and the most im-

partial consideration? As a sign of the attention which the matter was receiving, the bill as introduced in Congress by the Hon. Benjamin Butterworth, of Ohio, was referred to. That measure proposed a complete interchange between the United States and Canada of every product, whether natural or manufactured. It swept out of sight all custom houses, and, if made effective, would open up a new market among five millions of people for the United States. Without assuming any political entanglements, without undertaking any financial obligations, without adding a dollar to taxation, the operation of this proposal for free commercial relations would not only materially extend the consumption of the products of the United States, but it would place within cheapened access numerous products of Canada, which the people of the United States needed. They not only needed them, but they could nowhere else get them to such advantage.

THE CANADIAN FISHERIES.

Take for instance the fisheries of Canada, which are the largest, the richest, and the most accessible in the world. Twenty-five hundred miles of sea coast in the Atlantic alone, a distance almost equal to that from Cape Cod on the Atlantic to the remotest point on the Pacific—three thousand miles in the Pacific and inland seas—in all over five thousand five hundred miles of coast in a northern latitude, where the fish is at its finest, is as much a national possession of Canada as are the prairies of Illinois or the forests of Maine. Fish food from the Polar regions, brought to these coasts by Arctic currents, affords a sustenance for countless millions of fish, destined in turn for the sustenance of human life. It is no wonder that Canada holds firmly to her vast fishing interests. The advantage which she derives from the bait which lines her shores, indented by numerous bays, is a geographical one. When you recall the fact that twenty-five per cent. of the cost of the ordinary fishing voyage is found in the bait, you will see how important an element it is. If this bait can

be secured by dipping it, as it were, from the Canadian shores of the sea into carts and small boats, its possession is like the possession of seed corn or wheat in an agricultural community. To sell one's seed corn would be folly. To permit its sale to a competitor, without compensation or consideration, is to give up the advantages of geographical location and proprietary rights as distinctive as any other national right. This is not, however, the proper place to discuss this question. It is simply alluded to because it shows the advantages which would come to the United States if the entire fishing facilities of the vast coast line could be thrown open to her enterprise and industry. The harvests of the sea have been but skimmed. Properly cultivated as they would be with open markets in this vast country, and as a reward for American enterprise and the investment of capital and skill, the food products of the ocean could be quadrupled. The cost of sustenance of human life in all our large centres could thus be immensely decreased, and coupled with the vast productive agricultural forces on the ranches and prairies this element could be drawn upon for a large contribution towards the sustentation of human life at the cheapest possible rates.

CANADIAN WHEAT FIELDS.

But, aside from the fisheries of Canada, which are so rich and so vast, and the possibility of future development for the benefit of the United States, there are numerous other products which the United States might well avail themselves of. Take for instance, the article of wheat, and recall the steady growth northward of its production. Within the memory of most middle-aged men, the Genesee Valley, in New York State, was the great wheat producing region. Rochester was called the Flour City because of its once famous mills, now idle. Then came Ohio, then Illinois and Iowa, but now in these later days, the production of wheat for export and for the sustenance of the people, is confined largely to the northern regions, such as Minnesota, Dakota, and even Montana. Has anyone yet realized what this northern tendency means, and how far it will affect the great Canadian wheat producing regions? Why is it that in Manitoba and the Northwestern Territories wheat is produced to the greatest advantage is found in two great facts, the first of which is that there are two hours more of sunshine during the summer months, owing to their nearness to the Arctic circle, than in any other region in which wheat can be grown. These two hours add immensely to the productive power of the region. Again, the depth of frost is such that it never quite leaves the ground, but with the strength and the length of the sun's rays the exudation is constant, so that dry weather and drought

lose half their terrors. With these and other advantages, recall the fact that there are yet three hundred and seventy-five millions of acres of agricultural lands to be brought into cultivation in the Canadian North-West, and that the wheat zone of Canada covers no less a space than one million two hundred thousand square miles. If in this tendency northward, and all these climatic advantages, there is found an attraction in the wheat producing regions, surely, if the United States can enjoy therein a market for her agricultural implements, her boots and shoes, and all her other manufactures, and her natural products without let or hindrance, or without cost, why should she not do so! The rapid settlement of the North-Western States makes certain an equally rapid settlement of North-Western Canada.

THE HUDSON BAY RAILWAY.

An outlet, via the Hudson Bay route, for the railway system, which in the last two years has been used as a supplement to the Canada Pacific railway, is almost a certainty. With Winnipeg as near to Liverpool as New York, with an Inter-State Commerce bill which in the United States disturbs and upsets and revolutionizes the charges for transportation, the Hudson Bay railway is more likely to be built than ever before. Why should not all this vast territory be made tributary to the growth and progress of the United States by breaking down all the barriers to commerce between them? But it is not in fish and wheat alone, or in the regions of trade which produce them to the greatest advantage, that a temptation is offered to the trade and commerce of the United States.

THE LUMBER INTERESTS.

In the single article of timber and lumber this vast country would receive an advantage far greater than on almost any other article. In Canada there are sixty different kinds of timber, and the forests of pine, of which there are nineteen varieties, possess for the United States an attraction of the greatest possible character. Think of the denuded forests of Maine and the Saginaw, and of the treeless prairie lands of the West, and of the necessity and activity of building in the East, and then compare how inadequate is the supply of timber for the necessities of these localities. In British Columbia alone the lumber industries of that province will arise to immense importance. To have free access to the vast forests which Canada controls, and to have, without taxation or any barrier whatever, the best that the North American continent affords in the shape of woods, is to place within the grasp of the residents of the United States a facility and advantage of the greatest value. At present a twenty per cent. duty on Canadian lumber just adds so

much to the cost of the creation of homes. A freedom of commercial relations between the two countries would increase largely the possibility of every man owning his own vine-clad cottage, and changing from Communists and Anarchists men who were proud to own homes of their own. But aside from fisheries, grain, and timber, there are numerous other natural products which this country needs.

NOVA SCOTIAN COAL FIELDS.

In the matter of Nova Scotian coals for the Eastern States, the advantages of the Eastern manufacturer are clear. Not only in Nova Scotia, but throughout the Northwestern Territories there is a possibility of the widest development of the coal regions. In Saskatchewan, Athabasca and other points; there are workable seams of from four to ten feet in thickness of the best kind of coal, and in the upheavings of the Rocky Mountains the highest grades of anthracite are reached within the Canadian border. So far west as British Columbia, coal is now being shipped at the rate of three hundred thousand tons per annum to San Francisco, where it commands the highest price, notwithstanding a duty of twenty per cent. against it. From ocean to ocean, within the Canadian border, the geological details show great riches in the coal-producing territory, which ought to be available to the United States by breaking down all commercial barriers between it and Canada. Not the least of the advantages which would result from a free commercial relation would be the development of Canadian phosphates, which of late years have attracted a good deal of attention. The production has increased from five thousand four hundred tons in 1877, to twenty-five thousand tons in 1885. There is nothing which the South so much needs as the fertilizing forces which Canadian phosphates, properly treated, would furnish. There are numerous other natural products which it is needless to mention, but including copper and iron, which are available for development. Almost a continent of productive power, possessing more than the ordinary natural advantages, is available for American enterprise, American capital, and American trade, if but the magic touch of Freedom and a free market is afforded to it.

RELATIVE ADVANTAGES.

It may be urged that the advantages to the United States will not be so great, from a complete freedom of commercial intercourse, as they will be to Canada. Well, we cannot to-night go into a question of book-keeping. It is sufficient to know that Canadians themselves do not think that the advantage would be on their side. They have some considerable development in manufactures, which not a few of them consider would be severely

competed with by the skill, capital, and enterprise of competitors from the United States, if the local market were open to them. But these manufacturers, no doubt, would be willing to take their chances. With the frugality of their workmen, their industry, the advantage of natural resources, great water-powers and other facilities, they would try to hold their own. But it would be an even race, a friendly competition, which the manufacturers of the United States are certainly not afraid to encounter, if their Canadian brethren across the border are willing to take the risk. There are many products there which might find a market here. It would be an advantage to the people if such could be the case. It would be an equal advantage to manufacturers here to have a market such as is being developed, and in the next fifty years will be developed, in the regions to the North-West. It is true that complete commercial freedom between the United States and Canada would not be popular among English manufacturers. To tax goods of the mother country at a high rate, and yet let the products of the United States come in free, would seem a poor reward to the mother land for all the costliness, the anxiety, and the risk which she had hitherto encountered; but if a great advantage could be secured to her offspring by a commercial alliance such as is proposed, surely England will not exact so great a sacrifice as it would be to forego the offer. There comes a period in the history of every nation, like that in the experience of every business man, when a change in relations opens and broadens opportunities for advantage to employes or connections, when if selfish considerations intervene, great injustice is done. Canada is working out its own destiny of self-government. English laws, English language, English literature, and loyalty to English institutions pervade it completely and entirely. That it should forever remain disassociated in a commercial point of view from the great nation on its borders seems unreasonable. If at this juncture in affairs a complete commercial freedom could be created between the two countries, while many in England might oppose it, a popular vote in England would certainly confirm it. It might be a difficult thing to accomplish, but not an impossible one; and Canada is so far grown, so far independent, and so far self-reliant, that a refusal to permit her to avail herself of the advantages of the vast market which the United States affords, and to become enriched by a closer contact with this glorious Republic, while still maintaining her loyalty to the British throne, would be an act of such injustice as might materially lessen the loyalty to that throne. Viewed, therefore, from both a British and Canadian point of view, there seems no sufficient barrier to prevent the

carrying out of the proposition that complete commercial freedom should exist between the two countries.

CANADA'S DEBT.

It is true that Canada has a vast popular debt in proportion to its population. It is equally true that that debt has been created by rendering accessible almost a continent of productive soil. Some other mode of taxation than that of duties on importations might have to be adopted, but the fact that the markets which the United States afford could be freely opened for her natural productions, would develop with such rapidity the vast regions which these expenditures have opened up, that Canadians would, no doubt, gladly submit to taxation in different forms to make up for the loss of revenue now levied upon imports from the United States. Of course, there are difficulties in the way of a proposition for complete commercial intercourse, but they will disappear as they are approached; and if the New York Board of Trade and other liberal commercial bodies entertain favorably the idea; if it is made the subject of discussion and investigation, it is believed that good results will follow. No better mission can a man have than to enlarge the boundaries of commerce. Next to increasing facilities for its accommodation, the creation

of new markets, the enlargement of resources, and solidifying and building up of the commerce of the country is an object worthy of man's highest powers. That this can be accomplished in a greater degree by the proposed breaking down of commercial barriers to the north is as clear as the noonday sun. The bill of Mr. Butterworth, therefore, is full of interest, and though there is no immediate hope for its passage, its scope and results may well be discussed. Comparing it with the bill of Mr. Belmont for retaliation and non-intercourse, is like comparing light with darkness. The Butterworth bill partakes of the spirit of the age, enlarged commercial freedom, a liberal treatment, a self-reliant attitude, and a comprehensive policy. Mr. Belmont's bill for retaliation and non-intercourse partakes of the dark ages, when by force and pressure treaties were wrung from dependent nations, and natural advantages possessed by neighboring nations were seized regardless of consequences. As between these two measures, the public will judge, and I venture to predict that if the facts were properly put before the great American public, a popular vote to-day among the fair-minded, liberal, enlightened merchants of the country would be ten to one in favor of commercial freedom between the countries on this continent.

THE CANADIAN FARMER'S FUTURE.

AN OPEN LETTER FROM

ERASTUS WIMAN, OF NEW YORK,

—TO—

VALANCEY E. FULLER, Esq., FARMERS' INSTITUTE CONVENTION,
COURT HOUSE, TORONTO, ONTARIO.

DEAR SIR:

A LETTER from you in the public prints of April 18, with several others from thinking farmers in various localities, indicates that the Convention of representatives of Farmers' Institutes, to be held in Toronto on the 28th inst., will possess more than ordinary interest. It appears to be universally admitted that some changes are absolutely essential to restore prosperity to the farming community of Canada. The object of the Convention is avowedly to discuss, and if possible discover, what remedies are available to relieve the depressed condition, and gloomy prospect of that numerous and most respectable class. It is doubtful if in all the world there is a community in whom the virtues of industry, frugality, or integrity are more marked, thereby entitling them to the highest measure of comfort and happiness. Yet it may be doubted if there is any class of the community in Canada whose hard labors are so poorly requited; whose economies accomplish so little in the shape of accumulations, or whose prospects are so uncertain. Thinking men who love their country, and who look below the surface, will see, in this condition, results most disastrous; for, if the farmer cannot prosper in Canada, there is no hope for Canada. The whole superstructure of her commerce, and her manufactures rest upon his ability to consume and pay. If this ability is restricted, if it steadily declines rather than improves, it is time for farmers to assemble in convention to inquire for remedies. It is time for some other remedy to be discovered than that of borrowing money, or that which results from increased taxation. The perfection of the machinery for lending money in Canada is the boast of some of her shrewdest business men, and yet to some it is the saddest commentary on her condition. It is true that in the use of capital on reasonable terms, great advantages are to be gained, but is not the limit dangerously near where

disaster lurks in the loan? When prosperity and good results are possible from the use of money, the money-lending machinery may be a beneficent agency; but when depressed and limited markets are encountered, when loss and accumulating interest impend, the very perfection of this machinery is the force that brings ruin. The amount of interest payable by the farmers of Canada to-day, in the aggregate, is absolutely appalling in proportion to their possible profits; while the aggregate interest account, including the annual charges on the public debt, the municipal, mercantile, and private indebtedness, if footed up, would approach, in the sum remitted to Great Britain, one-half of the total value of the exports to that country. But it is not by loans alone that the Canadian farmer has been endeavoring to get rich. In the language of Goldwin Smith, he has been attempting to get rich by taxation—lifting himself by his boot-straps, as it were. Just how far such a feat can be successful the present condition illustrates. Perhaps the numerous delegations that have waited upon the Finance Minister, at Ottawa, to increase the duties levied on various necessities of life, may contribute to a solution of the unhappy condition of the average Canadian farmer. Certainly, if a community can get rich by taxation, these gentlemen possess the remedy, for it follows that the greater the taxes the greater the riches.

But something more is needed. A remedy greater and more effective is essential for the Canadian farmer than that which is to be found in borrowing money or increasing taxation—something that will accomplish more than subsidizing railroads, building unnecessary canals, or spending money on cruisers to hunt down the shipping of a friendly power. What is most needed by the Canadian farmer to-day is a better price for his produce. What his necessities require is a larger market.

The movement contemplated by your Institutes toward improved drainage, the encouragement of breeding horses, and toward better fertilizers, is good and wise in its way. But, if beside this, a great and near-by market can be secured, if continuously better prices are possible, this, and this alone, will bring back prosperity to the Canadian farmer. It may well be asked, how can this great boon be achieved? I answer, it is within the grasp of Canada to-day. By a complete reciprocity with the United States, a market such as the world has never equalled, is open to every Canadian farmer. A wealthy and extravagant people are at her very borders, and badly need her products. They are willing and ready to pay liberally for them, and to admit them free of duty. The only condition they exact is that their products should be admitted into Canada on the same terms. In other words, that there should be as complete an interchange of products between the United States and Canada as there is between Ontario and Quebec—as there is between New York and New Jersey. These are the provisions of the bill introduced into Congress by the Hon. Benjamin Butterworth, of Ohio—a bill that will become a law within a year, if Canada shows a disposition to co-operate on the same lines. It needs only that resolutions favorable to such a movement should pass the Canadian Parliament, and that there should be no more irritation on the fishery question. It needs only a kindly, neighborly disposition on the part of Canada, and the greatest boon which the United States can grant, or which the Canadian farmer can receive, is within the possibilities of an early day. It may be said that these possibilities are overrated, and that the ideas expressed by the British Lion Tail-twisters in Congress, and elsewhere in the United States, indicates a hostility to Canada, and that reciprocity, in the present condition of public sentiment, is out of the question. It can be forcibly replied, that the vast mass of thinking men in the United States feel that an abolition of all trade restrictions on this continent is most desirable; that from the President and his Cabinet, down to these very Tail-twisters themselves, not a man of prominence has yet expressed himself but has been favorable to a settlement of all international difficulties by a Commercial Union between Canada and the United States.

A Reciprocity Treaty, such as existed from 1854 to 1867 (under which Canadian farmers prospered as they never prospered before or since), is an impossibility. Americans feel that it was one-sided and unfair to them; and such a partial and temporary remedy is now clearly out of the question. But that it is possible to pass an Act con-

templating the more comprehensive measure, whereby there will be secured a permanent and complete commercial union between the two great English speaking nations of the North, no one here doubts who watches the signs of the times. Its very comprehensiveness makes it attractive. The possibilities of an extension of the trade of the United States into the unknown regions of the North, the advantages that would result from the free introduction of the great agricultural, mineral and other resources of the Dominion, together with the prospect of settling, once for all, the various international differences that continually arise: these considerations help forward a favorable conclusion. The financial condition of the United States, her vast surplus, the necessity of reduction in her tariff revenues, are also important factors, while the peculiar relation of political parties, one to the other, on this question, make the time an opportune one for the passage of an Act favorable to Commercial Union with Canada.

It has all along been felt by Canadian residents here, who closely felt the pulse of public sentiment, that if only the fishery question could approach even a temporary adjustment, during this Spring, the best results would follow, in the shape of a friendly discussion of enlarged commercial relations between the two countries. Fears were entertained that by some injudicious seizure in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, some harsh or mistaken proceeding, the growing sentiment favorable to an amicable settlement of this vexed question would be turned into a feeling of indignation and hostility, resulting in retaliation, non-intercourse, and perhaps actual war. Under conditions of such suspense, and in the face of danger, come the proposals for settlement of the fishery question on the basis proposed by Lord Salisbury, whereby the right to fish in Canadian waters, and to buy supplies, is awarded on condition that Canadian fish are admitted to the United States free of duty. This proposal, if carried out, while it seems to yield important privileges, is one that is destined to accomplish results more beneficent than it has ever been the good fortune of any British minister to accomplish on this continent. Not only does it seem like a divine intervention, to settle at a most critical moment a question that was assuming a most serious shape, but it comes like a message of peace to the American people, yielding up to them valuable privileges, and inviting them to take the first step in the direction of free commercial intercourse, which they will not be slow to follow. For the settlement of the fishery question in this way does not necessarily close the discussion of enlarged international relations. On the contrary, this adjustment only opens it up, and

in a manner that frees it from the only serious source of complication, so that with all the conditions favorable, already referred to as existing in this country, it seems not improbable, now that public attention has been directed to the question, that a very little effort would result in such action by Congress as would, so far as it is concerned, remove all barriers to the freest commercial intercourse with Canada. That this action could be helped forward by some expression from the Canadians themselves no one doubts; and it remains for Canadian farmers to insist that their representatives in Parliament should give this expression of wishes shape and form. In taking this step the farmers would vastly improve their prospects, and make a move toward increasing the value of every acre of land, and every article of produce they could grow.

All the advantages of an open market, with sixty millions of people, are within their grasp. All the advantages of contiguity, of excellent means of communication, of extreme prosperity among liberal buyers, without the payment of duty, without the sacrifice of a single political principle—all this within a year is possible to the Canadian farmer, if he chooses to exert his influence on his representative in Parliament at Ottawa. It need not be a party question. It is better that it should not be. Farmers may differ about religious matters, or on politics, or on modes of cultivation, but there can be no difference in opinion as to the benefits of a free and open market, with the most progressive and the wealthiest nation of the continent. There can be no difference of opinion as to the advantage resulting from an advance in prices of every bushel of barley, of every horse that is for sale over the border, for every lamb that bleats, for every chicken, or even for every dozen eggs that the farmer's wife gathers—and last year the United States received from Canada fourteen million dozen of eggs! This is a question of economics, not of politics, and hence, can be discussed in farmers' institutes with perfect propriety. But it is the duty of politicians of all shades to examine it, and it is within the power of politicians of both parties to promote it. The farmer certainly, whose interests above all others should be watched, and by every means promoted, has the right to demand that his representative should investigate the subject, that he should not be bound down by party lines on a matter of such moment, and that he should vote for such measures or resolutions as would indicate to the United States the wishes of his constituents. If the farmers will let their wishes be known to their members by letters and petitions, on even postal cards, their voice will be potent. Few men at Ottawa will fail to heed the expression of a unanimous sentiment for a

larger market and better prices, if urged upon them by anything like a united and hearty movement of their constituents.

There are not a few who think that the present moment is the most important one for the future of Canada that has yet occurred in her history. A great opportunity exists for vastly improving her prospects by a commercial alliance with a neighboring nation. By this alliance, and still remaining a British Colony, and working out in her own way the problem of self-government, she can be independent of all the evils that beset a republic, and yet, by this commercial bargain, our native country can have all the untold advantages of vast markets; share in the wealth of the most money-making and most progressive people in the world; compete in manufactures at all points, with the advantages of great natural products, abundant water powers and a frugal and industrious population. By this means, and by this alone, can the world be taught that Canada can hold her own in a free market with the products of her farms, of her fisheries, or of her factories: it remains with the farmers of Canada to see that this chance is afforded her.

I trust you, and other farmers who may read this letter, will pardon the presumption which prompts it, but situated as I am, with common interests, with a knowledge of the common welfare of the two countries, and, as I grow older, with my thoughts and affections turning to my native land, I cannot resist the temptation to point out what I conceive to be the path that leads to her prosperity. Communities here, without one-half the natural advantages which Canada possesses, are in the highest degree prosperous. The mortgage indebtedness in whole States has been enormously reduced, if not entirely liquidated; where ten years ago the interest account from the West to the East was a heavy burden, there are now numerous farmers in the West who seek investment in the East. Local and governmental indebtedness is being rapidly reduced; great projects carried forward within the means of each locality, and without borrowing a dollar, and a general condition of hopefulness and material strength unequalled elsewhere in the world. These are not from any difference in form of government, or any advantages from political organic policy, except and save the one that, as between the varied commonwealths of the Union there are no commercial barriers. The activities of the one help to build up, support, and make prosperous the activities of the other. Canada, self-reliant, self-poised by a commercial union, can be made the equal, if not greater than any of these great commonwealths, and thereby possessed of a greater prosperity than ever entered the heart of man to conceive. Thus, while under existing conditions

her vast natural resources and geographical advantages are restricted, and from present indications yield her but a partial and meagre prosperity at best, she could at one bound become the most envied of all nations in the world. She might then become the most prosperous and the most contented, as she is even now the richest country in the world, though the want of development renders her liable to the reproach that she is one of the poorest.

I venture to address this letter to you, sir,

because of the worthy position which you occupy, and the public spirit that you have evinced in the promotion of the agricultural interests of your native land, and because of your well-known liberality and activity in promoting everything that advances the good of your fellow countrymen.

Faithfully yours,

ERASTUS WIMAN.

NEW YORK. April 26, 1887.

IS RECIPROCITY POSSIBLE ?

A SECOND LETTER TO VALANCEY E. FULLER, Esq., PRESIDENT
OF THE FARMERS' INSTITUTE CONVENTION,

—FROM—

ERASTUS WIMAN, OF NEW YORK.

DEAR SIR:—You are good enough, in your recent communications, to say that the letter which I took the liberty of sending you two weeks ago, on the Farmer's Future, has not only been almost universally read, but by the farmers has been almost universally approved. You further inform me that one of the chief difficulties encountered in the Dominion by the advocates of Commercial Union between Canada and the United States, is the doubt that in the latter country a movement to accomplish this purpose could be successfully carried out. From what you say, in some quarters it appears to be feared that the great boon which Canada might secure by this arrangement is not within her grasp, and that, until there is better evidence of the expectation being fulfilled in the United States, it is unwise to evoke an expression in Canada in its favor. It is not surprising that such a doubt exists, and you urge me to write you another letter for publication, setting forth the reasons why this hope is entertained that action favorable to Commercial Union can be secured in the United States. It must be admitted that the possibilities on the surface seem uncertain of carrying through Congress a measure such as that proposed by Mr. BUTTERWORTH, which, if it became law, and was met by a corresponding action of the Parliament of Canada, would result in Commercial Union between the two countries. Judged by the frequent expression of hostility to Great Britain by professional politicians who hope thereby to catch the vast Irish vote, no action favorable to a colony of that empire might be expected in this country. Equally impossible does it seem that any movement toward reciprocity is possible in the face of the abrogation of the treaty which prevailed from 1854 to 1866, and the determined opposition which meets any proposition to renew that convention. To these two apparently true indications of adverse public sentiment is added a keen sense of the injustice which the action of the Canadian government conveys to the people of this country by defending the Fisheries of Canada with armed cruisers, and by insisting on such an interpretation of the Treaty of

1818 as makes a convention of comity an engine of hostility to the people for whose benefit it was agreed to. How thoroughly justified the Canadian government may be in what it has done, or is doing in this regard, makes little difference so far as feeling here is concerned, as is shown by the decisive movement in Congress on the retaliation bill, a movement which has hardly a parallel in any legislative body in times of peace, in the extent of damage it would inflict, not only on a nearby neighbor, but on this country itself.

In view of all these and other indications, it does seem incredible that an arrangement might be reached by action in the Congress of the United States, whereby every barrier which exists between the trade of the two countries could be swept away; that an arrangement could be reached, not only adjusting all existing differences, and removing the possibility of future complications, but that each country should open to the other its territory for the freest commercial intercourse. The difference in the two conditions, as they exist now, and as they would exist then, is so marked as to seem impossible of achievement in the present state of feeling. It is therefore no wonder you say our friends in Canada hesitate to believe the good news to be true, that it is possible in the near future to work out a change so great, and full of results of such magnitude.

But in reply to this apparently reasonable inference, it may be said that the surface indications are really not seriously influential. Thus, the desire to catch the Irish vote will never seriously interfere with action to immensely benefit the country. While there is lots of buncombe, and plenty of resolutions on paper regarding Ireland, and apparent antagonism to England, no real legislation has been affected thereby. So with regard to limited reciprocity, the objection to the old treaty was not against the principle itself, so much as against what was considered to be the one-sidedness of the treaty. This objection is entirely removed when a Complete Reciprocity is proposed. In the proposed universal exchange of products and manufactures, such as is implied in Commercial Union,

the opponents of the old convention absolutely become the advocates of the new plan. Then, with regard to the Fishery question, if the adverse action thereon is not too harsh and irritating, it can be made a positive force contributory to the movement for such a wide and permanent adjustment of the relations between the two countries as will forever remove the possibility of a recurrence of these differences. So you will see that in all the apparent impediments to favorable action in Congress in behalf of unrestricted intercourse, it would not take much to change them to impelling motives in this direction.

That these conclusions are justified, it is only necessary to point out the fact that the introduction of the Butterworth bill has been almost universally commended. There is hardly a public man on either side of politics, who has been consulted, but has expressed an opinion favorable to it. It is true that some see difficulties in the way—some cannot believe that England will consent to permit Canada to admit free of duty the manufactures of the United States, while she exacts a duty on those of Great Britain. It is true, many fail to immediately apprehend how the details are to be worked out, how the tariff of the two countries is to be adjusted, and the combined revenues to be distributed. But where one is met who urges objections such as these, fifty are pronounced in favor of an extension of the commerce of the United States into a country larger than their own on the one hand; and, on the other hand, equally in favor of having free access to the enormous resources of Canada, in her fisheries, minerals, timber, and agricultural products. These, it is argued, can all be made immensely contributory to the progress of the United States; and, as the public revenues now show a surplus of over one hundred millions of dollars per annum more than is needed for the expenses of the government and the extinguishment of the public debt, the proposition to abolish all the duties on Canadian products, of all kinds, finds exceeding favor, provided a similar movement is simultaneously made in Canada. It is one of the modes by which the public revenues can be reduced without imperilling any distinctive interest. Indeed, in many minds, the very interests which a high tariff has stimulated, are advanced by the possibility of opening up new markets on the one hand, and the bringing in raw material from new sources, without duty, on the other. As has already been said, the proposition for commercial union, in the United States, appeals with equal force to the protectionist and the free trader, for to the one it is a free transfer of products into a country already protected, while to the other it is an extension of commerce, without burdening the product with taxation, and admitting free of duty the large contributions of raw

material which Canada can make. Indeed the effect of an arrangement with Canada, would probably be to lower the United States tariff, while calling for a slight advance of that of Canada, so as to attain a uniformity the change in either need not be marked.

A very important consideration to be borne in mind is, that while no distinctive interest in the United States is threatened by a change so great, no distinctive political party is opposed to it. The contributions of Canada in her agricultural products would not adversely affect the farmer of the West, for both seek a European market for their surplus; while the consumer in the Eastern manufacturing districts, and in the densely populated centres on the Atlantic coast, would benefit by the cheapened cost of living which, from their contiguity to the Canadian fisheries, Canadian collieries and Canadian farms, would contribute to them if their products were worked to their fullest extent, and admitted free. The impelling motive favorable to Commercial Union with Canada is, you will see very strong, and that it is already commanding the favorable attention of the most influential and the most independent public men there is no doubt. In order that there may be some indications furnished of the strength of this sentiment, there will be sent you shortly some extracts from letters and speeches from prominent parties, and, from time to time, further expressions of opinion from these will be secured. These pronounced views are but slight indications of the universal sentiment which one meets among the hard-headed, liberal-minded business men of this country, who are quick to see in the proposed obliteration of a customs line three thousand miles long, a removal of a restriction to trade on this continent which they believe really should never have been created, and which in this age and continent of freedom there is no justification for longer existing. That the day on which this line is broken down—this long barbed wire fence is removed—will be a blessed day for the farmers of Canada, no one who knows their present condition can doubt.

But, not only are leading public men on both sides of the party line favorable to the idea of Commercial Union with Canada, and not only do thinking business men thoroughly approve of it, but there is reason to believe that President CLEVELAND and his administration favor it. There have been not a few indications from the members of the Cabinet in this direction, and personally I have been the honored recipient of views on this matter that show the kindest disposition toward Canada, notwithstanding all that has occurred. Further, the President's policy, so pronounced and so generally popular, is directly in the line of a measure at once so liberal and so comprehensive as this would be. No act in his most

successful administration would bear results one-half as potent or far reaching as the union of the two great English speaking nations of the Continent, on a firm commercial basis. Luckily, his long residence near the Canadian border has more or less familiarized him with the Dominion, and his own good common sense, coupled with his Democratic tendencies, which are really toward freedom in trade, enables him at once to grasp the greatness and beneficence of this question. His firm and, indeed, friendly attitude, as shown in his recent letter on the Retaliation Bill, may be taken as a fair indication of the temper of his mind. You will recall how broadly he viewed the question, as affecting the interests, not of any section, but of the whole country at large, and how firmly and yet kindly he alluded to the intimacy of the relations existing between the United States and Canada. The same sentiment pervades the utterances of Mr. BAYARD, the Secretary of State, who would be the President's chief adviser on matters of this kind. Few men in the country have broader views, larger conceptions, and a higher order of ability than this great man; and Canada is most fortunate that at this critical juncture in her history, the State Department is presided over by a gentleman at once so patient, so prudent, and, withal, so firm and yet so friendly. No one can have watched the policy of the Washington administration closely—no one who has any knowledge of its tendencies, or is at all familiar with their *personnel*, but will be satisfied, that if the Canadian people through its Parliament indicate a desire to be commercially united with the United States, the movement would have a hearty support from the President and his Cabinet. Hence, the importance of prompt action in Canada, for over one-half the term of the present administration has already expired, and a new election eighteen months hence may make all the difference in the world.

I now come to a motive that here helps forward the desire for Commercial Union, which needs to be handled very gingerly. This motive is to hope that, should the Canadians be brought into a closer commercial relation with the United States, it would, in time, be followed by a political alliance. It is the dream of some good people that the form of republican government should cover the continent; and it is to many a matter of real surprise that Canada has not long ago bid good-bye to Great Britain, and sought admission into the American Union. It is, however, proper to say that to the vast mass of Americans it is a matter of perfect indifference whether Canada is annexed or not; while there is a considerable section who would strongly oppose it, because of the serious political complications that would follow in view of party influences, and the uncer-

tainties it would beget as to party triumphs for years to come. But Commercial Union, while it seems to be a step in the right direction for those who desire a political union, does not, to others who are indifferent, imply more than it really performs; while to the politician it threatens no disturbance in calculations and combinations. So that, vast as are the consequences that may flow from it commercially, its political significance is by no means certain, and it thus commends itself, alike to all.

Right here let me say a word or two about the view of this matter in Canada. Because any considerable section in the United States advocate Commercial Union, in the hope that it will be followed by annexation, it does not imply that in Canada such a motive should prevail. Canada cannot be annexed without her free and hearty consent, and those who are familiar with the loyalty that permeates her through and through, know that unless under great stress of absolute and sorrowful necessity, she will never lessen her allegiance to Great Britain. The material advantages which a connection with the United States would bring would be the only justification for the step. To save the country from life-long bankruptcy, and to put her people on the high plane of prosperity, might to the majority be deemed sufficient to palliate a peaceful revolution, whereby Canada should sever her connection with the dear mother-land. But, thank God! this is unnecessary. All that annexation would bring in its material advantages, Commercial Union brings; all that the closer political alliance would accomplish in benefits to Canada is accomplished by complete reciprocity. With Commercial Union granted, there is nothing in the form of government in the United States that will give to Canadians any advantage which they would not then possess; and British connection, with all its advantages, and the glory of all its traditions, would be more permanent than ever before. The logic of this conclusion is irresistible, and parties in Canada who attribute annexation motives to Canadian advocates of Commercial Union show only how partially and imperfectly they understand what they are talking about. For the strongest advocate of Commercial Union with the United States, is, in the existing conditions of Canada, the strongest advocate for political union with Great Britain.

Another class in the United States who favor Commercial Union with Canada are found in those who regard her a *taboo* and lake defences as impossible to effect even by vast expenditure. To be in perfect peace with a first-class military power like Great Britain whose empire stretches 3,000 miles along one side of the border line, and who could attack at numberless points along 5,000

miles on the other side of the coast line, is to many prudent thinking people a most desirable consummation. To remove all possible cause for conflict, to forever settle the constantly recurring fishery disputes, and generally to beget a close and intimate commercial alliance with the only power that could seriously trouble this country, is deemed a step of the greatest wisdom by Americans who wander through their obsolete and inefficient forts, or who correctly estimate the prowess of the existing navy.

Having thus tried to show you the tendencies in the United States in favor of Commercial Union with Canada, it remains to indicate the influences that would oppose it. It is difficult to discover these in any great force. The Pennsylvania Legislature, the other day, voted down a resolution favorable to it, and in Canada this has been heralded forth as an indication of popular sentiment. The fact is that this Legislature is largely under the influence of three great forces. These are: the Standard Oil Company, the anthracite coal combination, and the manufacturers. All these bodies are much interested in keeping out of the United States Canadian oil, Canadian coal, and Canadian manufactures. Is it surprising that away up in Harrisburg the willing servants of these vast interests do the bidding of their masters? If they had never done anything worse than vote against Commercial Union with Canada, the people of this country might have some respect for the expression of their views; but in knowledge of what has occurred, even this session, at the bidding of the Standard Oil Company, the influence on the people of the United States on such a vote has no more effect than water on a duck's back.

Of course, there are opponents to commercial union with Canada in the United States. It would be strange indeed if there were not bitter battles to be fought to achieve it. The press, with some exceptions strongly approving of it, are as yet unpronounced in regard to it; some are possibly waiting to see in which way the tide turns. The political trade winds which generally prevail in the autumn may or may not favor it; indeed, may be indifferent to it, for the subject may be too vast for the intellect of the average ward politician who, this off year, rules the roost in local politics. But it makes little

difference, for the vast majority of thinking men are in favor of a union with the English speaking nation to the north of them, on any basis that is equitable and fair, and a commercial basis of free interchange of products of all kinds commends itself to them. The Boards of Trade and other commercial bodies will doubtless take the matter up in due time, and the sentiment in its favor which now unquestionably prevails will find early expression. That the sentiment exists, and strongly, too, is best shown by the conviction that the Butterworth bill could pass the House of Representatives to-day by a large majority, provided an expression favorable to the measure could be had from the people of Canada through their Parliament.

Aside from the foregoing considerations which prevail in the United States, favorable to a commercial union with Canada, there are numerous others of equal weight, but I have exhausted both your patience and the space rightly belonging to me. I admit that I have done only partial justice to the subject, but it is too large a matter to be discussed within a narrow space, and some future opportunity must be taken to amplify the facts as they exist here. I would not have obtruded myself upon you and your associates again, but for your urgent request that I should give the reason for the faith that was in me, that the sentiment in this country in favor of reciprocity with Canada could be greatly augmented if a disposition was shown in the Dominion in that direction.

To be associated with you, sir, in your capacity as a leader among an army so vast as the farmers of my native land—so stalwart, so frugal, and so worthy, and yet so helpless in their present condition, and so hopeless as to their future—to be engaged with them in a mission to accomplish a purpose so great as that of throwing open the markets of these vast commonwealths to their free access, is sufficient to stimulate one to the greatest exertions, and the greatest sacrifices. I thank you most heartily for the kind words you have said, as to the efforts that are being put forth to beget a proper understanding of this great question on both sides of the line. And with much regard, I remain,

Faithfully yours,

ERASTUS WIMAN.

COMPLETE RECIPROCITY.

SHORT EXTRACTS AND LETTERS.

[*Extract from Speech on Retaliation Bill by HON. ROBERT R. HITT, Member of Congress from Illinois.*]

"And let me not speak of 'reciprocity' without expressing a hearty hope that we shall yet have reciprocity complete with our northern neighbors—no one-sided game, as it was the last time when we made a treaty in 1854, in which we were so thoroughly outwitted, that under it we gave to the Canadians a market for \$229,000,000 worth of their products to come in without paying duty during the time that reciprocity treaty was in force, while under it they gave us a market free of duty for scarce more than half as much. So ingeniously was it framed at our expense that it admitted free of duty 94 per cent. of all Canada had to sell to us, and left 42 per cent. of all we sold to Canada still burdened by their tariff. In spite of kindly feeling for neighbors, and desire to see enlarging commerce, we soon had enough of such costly reciprocity, and terminated the treaty. Of a far different stamp is that wider, fairer reciprocity contemplated in the bill introduced a day or two ago by my friend from Ohio [MR. BUTTERWORTH], which would abolish all duties on the Canadian border, make a common tariff and customs union, sweep away all custom houses across the whole continent, dispense with the whole consular service in Canada, and remove all custom house lines to follow the lines of the ocean. I would gladly see that done. But it will not be a reciprocity like the last, which denied to our manufactures the market of Canada, and gave to Canadian agriculture the vast market for their products which our splendid manufacturing system and populous centres had slowly built up."

[*Extract from Speech on Retaliation Bill by HON. N. DINGLEY, JR., Member of Congress from Maine.*]

"I may add in passing—although this question is not involved in the present controversy with Canada—that when this question of the reciprocal privileges of all the vessels of the United States and Canada, in the ports of each country, shall be settled, I shall for one, and in my judgment this country will, be ready at any time to give a candid consideration to any propositions looking to real reciprocal trade relations with Canada. By real reciprocal trade relations I mean such as will admit the manufactured products of this country into Canada free of duty, while retaining a duty on the manufactured products of Great Britain and other countries, in return for an admission of Canadian products into our country free of duty, while we retain duties as to similar articles imported from other countries. But such one-sided reciprocity as that provided by the treaty of 1854, we do not care to repeat."

[Letter from HON. JOHN SHERMAN, United States Senator from Ohio.]

SENATE CHAMBER, WASHINGTON, May 10, 1887.

DEAR SIR:—Your note of the 5th inst., enclosing proof sheets of a pamphlet relating to full reciprocity between the United States and the Dominion of Canada, and asking my opinion upon the general subject, is just received.

No question of greater importance in our foreign relations is now presented than this. It certainly is an object of desire to remove all existing controversies, and to encourage business and commercial intercourse between the people of both countries. As to the particular measure proposed by Mr. Butterworth, or, indeed, as to the extent to which reciprocity should go, and the articles that should be admitted free of duty in the respective countries, I do not feel justified in now expressing an opinion, for these must be the subject of negotiation between and legislation by the two countries. I can only say that the general object sought seems to be one of the highest importance, creditable alike to both countries, and which will receive my careful and friendly consideration during the coming summer. It would be discreditable in the highest degree for two countries having so many interests in common, and natural ties of friendship and amity, to have any irritation or controversy about their trade and intercourse with each other.

Very truly yours,

JOHN SHERMAN.

ERASTUS WIMAN, Esq.

[Letter from HON. N. DINGLEY, JR., Member of Congress from Maine.]

LEWISTON, ME., May 3, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR:—Absence from home has prevented an earlier acknowledgement of your note of the 23d ult. I have read your inclosure, and am in entire accord with much that you say. My own impression, however, is, and has been that Great Britain would not consent, even if Canada did, to a commercial arrangement which would admit into Canada manufactured goods from the United States on more favorable terms than from the United Kingdom. If there were reason to believe that Great Britain would permit such a commercial union as Mr. Butterworth's bill proposes, it would be received with favor.

Very truly yours,

N. DINGLEY, JR.

ERASTUS WIMAN, Esq.

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THE CANADIAN FARMER'S DUTY

-BY-

VALANCEY, E. FULLER,

PRESIDENT CENTRAL FARMERS' INSTITUTE OF ONTARIO.

The following are extracts from a letter to the officers of Farmers' Institutes in Canada, in regard to a resolution favoring Commercial Union, which was passed at the Central Institute, in Toronto, at its April meeting :

"It seems proper that I should state the reasons which were advanced at the time of passing the resolution referred to. It must be apparent to any one taking an interest in the welfare of the farmers of Ontario, that their future at present is not a promising one, and that the average farmer of the day, unless he be engaged in some speciality, is procuring but a very slight return, if any, for his capital and labor. If the farmers of Ontario desire to keep pace with the times, and to progress in place of retrograding, they must change their modes of farming, or find increased and better markets. Those who are at all familiar with the condition of the farmers of the United States, and contrast it with those of Ontario, cannot but be struck with the fact that the position of the American farmer is vastly superior to that of the Canadian. The farmers of Ontario are burdened with debt; whereas the farmers of the older States of the United States are rapidly paying off their debt. The ordinary Ontario farmer's life is one of extreme hardship, and scant return for his labor; whereas the American farmer lives in comparative comfort, and receives a fair return for his capital and labor. The natural question that suggests itself is, 'What is the cause of this?' It cannot be in the soil or climate, as ours surpasses these States in which the farmers are in a flourishing condition. It cannot be in improved mode of farming, as the Ontario farmer is possessed of more perseverance, and is as a rule a better farmer than his American brother. It is not any of these, but in the fact that the American market is a better one for agricultural, stock, and garden products than that of Ontario, and that the United States possess the population, wealth, and purchasing power, which contributes towards making their market a better one to sell in. It will be contended that in advocating this we are losing sight of the English market, but who will on equal terms choose so distant a market, when one lays at our own

doors on equal terms. It will also be argued that the 'removal of all restrictions on trade between the Dominion of Canada and the United States' will strike a most severe blow to our manufacturing interests. To a limited extent this may be true, but even at the worst it will be but temporary. The manufacturing interest should not be made paramount to that of the agriculturist; its welfare is so dependent upon the welfare of the farmers, that what aids and improves the position of the farmer still more improves the position of the manufacturer. The prosperity of the farmer means the prosperity of the manufacturer, and the poverty of the farmer means impoverishment to the manufacturer.

"I cannot conceive that the majority of our Manufacturers are incapable of holding their own against the Americans. This is no question of 'Protection.' We do not seek to give our markets to the Americans unless they give us theirs in return. We take the broad ground that the interests of the farmers of Ontario are paramount to those of any other class, and that the progress of Ontario has been through, and is dependent upon, the prosperity of the farmers. This is an indisputable fact, and if the removal of all restrictions on trade between the Dominion and the United States will benefit you, through you it will benefit the whole country. The farmers of Ontario have never appreciated their own importance, nor have they in the past as a united whole asked for that which their own good sense tells them will be for their future welfare and prosperity. Are we to continue in this condition? It rests with you to decide. The means is given you through this Institute to make your voice felt. Look to your own interests, other bodies will take care of theirs but in so doing you have the comforting conviction that while you are protecting and fostering your own calling, you are acting for the welfare of the whole. If you approve of this Resolution, let not the matter rest

here. Use, each and all of you, your influence to make this issue a live one. Address, or see your member of the House of Commons, and make him feel that the interest of the real power of his constituency—the farmers—demand and must receive his best attention; that he represents you, not himself or any particular class. This is not a party question but it is one in which every farmer, regardless of party or creed, is deeply and vitally interested.

"We ask your hearty and active co-operation in this matter. By giving us this you will strengthen our hands; you will increase the usefulness of your Institute; you will show to the world that the farmer is no longer apathetic to his own interests, and by so doing you will not only benefit yourself, but through you the whole population of the Province."

VALANCEY E. FULLER,
Pres't: Permanent Central Farmers' Institute.

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THE CANADA OF TO-DAY.

ITS PRESENT AND FUTURE RELATION TO THE UNITED STATES.

—BY—

S. J. RITCHIE, OF AKRON, OHIO.

The following is an address delivered in Washington, December 7, 1885, by Mr. SAMUEL J. RITCHIE, of Akron, Ohio, at a banquet given to the delegates to the convention for the promotion of the Permanent Exhibition of the Three Americas, to be held in 1892, in honor of Columbus. Mr. RITCHIE, though a resident of Ohio, having large interests in railroad and mineral properties in Canada, and being moreover a man of most comprehensive views, his ideas and information are of great value:

To say that I am in the fullest sympathy with whatever there is in the object and aims of this convention—to cultivate and perpetuate intimate friendly relations between the people of the United States and the sister countries of the Western Hemisphere—would be but a feeble expression of the interest I take in this great movement.

Differing mainly in language, we are bound together by natural ties of the strongest character, and the progressive spirit of the nineteenth century and the enlightened age in which we are living invite us to closer, more intimate, and more lasting relations.

Instead of seeking more worlds to conquer by the enginery of war, the arts of peace and all the appliances of modern civilization contribute to the measures which are now provided to unite us in lasting bonds of peace.

Aside from the natural and geographical conditions which unite us, the wheels of commerce, the locomotive, the steamship, and ocean cable join us by indissoluble ties.

In 1854 a treaty of reciprocity was made between the United States and Canada, which, by its terms, was to run for a period of ten years or longer, unless terminated by either party upon a year's notice being given. The articles embraced in the schedule attached to this treaty were the products of the farm, forest, mines, and the sea. The operation of this treaty greatly stimulated the trade of both countries, whose present volume is largely due to the impetus given at that time or during that period.

During four years of the operation of this treaty, while we were engaged in a great civil war, Canada to some extent afforded a place of refuge for certain parties in arms against the United States. The bitterness

felt by many of the people of the United States against all countries not in sympathy with us during our struggle, was the real cause of our government availing itself of the terms of that treaty, and terminating it at the first day it was possible for her to do so. It was little more or less than a retaliatory measure on our part, and no fault of the favorable operations of this treaty toward the United States.

And now, as then, Canada affords a safe retreat for refugees from justice from the United States, owing to the imperfect machinery and unfavorable operations of international law.

So much for the origin and termination of this treaty.

From the date that this treaty was terminated up to the present time, Canada has made constant efforts to have it renewed, either in whole or in part, and indeed has offered to greatly multiply the advantages which would accrue to the United States. In fact, she has gone so far that when she adopted her present tariff system, which is alike operative to all countries, England not excepted, she carefully placed upon her statute books a law providing that whenever the United States admitted any of the articles formerly embraced in the schedule of the abrogated treaty, and many others not so embraced, being the products of Canada, into the United States duty free, the Dominion of Canada would admit like articles or their equivalents, being the products of the United States, into Canada duty free. That law remains upon her statute books to-day, and is to all intents and purposes a part of her tariff.

No further legislation on the part of Canada is necessary to carry this provision into

effect, and it only requires that a proclamation should be issued by the Governor in council.

Thus for twenty-one years Canada has been asking us to renew our former friendly and reciprocal trade relations with her. To all this we have turned a deaf ear, and in none of the provisions now before Congress providing for extended and free reciprocal trade relations with all other countries on this hemisphere, is there a single provision made for those of Canada.

Considerations of international etiquette may be urged against extending such a provision to a country which has a nominal colonial existence. But when she has arrived at a period of her history, when she makes her own tariff and unmakes it, independent of and without reference to the imperial government, she is entitled to full recognition in the great sisterhood of states in all such commercial relations.

Shall we commit any offense against England in extending this offer to Canada? Let us see what some of her people say.

No longer ago than last May Joseph Chamberlain said in the British House of Commons that the legislature of Canada was free to pass an act declaring her independence and sovereignty, and no man in that house would raise a voice or hand against it, while John Bright declared to an eminent Canadian statesman that Canada should consult her real interests by cultivating close relations with the great people on the south of her, as nature seemed to have one destiny for both countries.

The Dominion of Canada has a larger area than the whole of the United States if we exclude Alaska, reaching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and with no thought of magnifying the importance of our great neighbor of the north over those countries on the south, permit me to invite your attention to a few statistics, which show how intimately we are bound by great arteries of trade to the Dominion of Canada.

To make our figures intelligible and fully understood, I shall have to place in contrast our trade relations between the countries north and south of us as shown by the statistics of those countries.

In 1885 the amount of goods imported into the Dominion of Canada from Great Britain and the United States were as follows: From Great Britain, \$43,418,000; from the United States, \$50,492,832. While during this same period the aggregate imports of all the Central and South American States were \$323,800,000, of which amount the United States contributed \$27,589,429, and to all the countries south of the Rio Grande we sold \$64,719,000, about 20 per cent. more than was sold to our neighbor, Canada. Thus to all this vast territory on the south, containing

a population of over 45,000,000, there was sold but about 20 per cent. more than to the Dominion of Canada, containing a population of but 5,000,000 of people.

To illustrate further, the relative importance of these commercial relations, the statistics show that the exports of Canada per capita were greater than those of the United States, and her per capita imports are also greater than our own. Her per capita railway mileage is about the same as those of the United States. Her growth of population from the date of our Declaration of Independence up to the present day has been equal to our own, ours at that date being about 3,000,000, and hers being less than 300,000.

The records of her criminal courts show that she has a smaller percentage of crime than we have. She is the only country in the world whose national debt is not a war debt, with the exception of two or three millions expended in putting down the recent Riel rebellion. The whole of her debt has been incurred in the development of her internal improvements. In addition to her line of railway extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, her government is subsidizing a fast line of steamships to ply between Halifax and Liverpool, and the imperial government has agreed to subsidize a line to run between Vancouver, Yokohama, Hong Kong, and Australia. A company has been organized to lay an ocean cable from Vancouver, via Sandwich Islands, to Yokohama, Hong Kong, and Australia. An Atlantic ocean cable is to be owned by the same company which owns the Pacific cables.

Thus her great railway, by means of the steamships which will ply between Halifax and Liverpool in connection with it, and the Pacific line subsidized by the English government, which will also run in connection with it, will have both under its control. Its railways are reaching out for the carrying trade of the two hemispheres. Not only this, but the transcontinental telegraph system and both the Atlantic and Pacific cables, of which I have spoken, will be under the control and owned by her railways.

These are not visions of the future. Most of them are realities of to-day. Already we can step into the most luxurious car which runs on this continent to Vancouver, on the waters of the Pacific, and ride continuously in it for a distance of 3,700 miles until you reach Halifax, on the Atlantic. This country has also a great inland water way from the mouth of the St. Lawrence in the Atlantic to the head of Lake Superior, and all her own, except the locks at Sault Ste. Marie.

These great lines of commerce traverse broad stretches of our own country, will tap almost every important centre of trade on our northern border, and are now stretching their arms across the State of Maine to the

seaboard, south to St. Paul, and the vast interests that centre in these grand transcontinental lines that are knit together by them, invite to other fields of conquests this side of the great lakes, until Portland, Ore., St. Paul, Chicago, Buffalo, New York, and San Francisco pay tribute to these interests and share in their wonderful growth and development; and it may astonish some present to know that to-day the Dominion government has subsidized, and is now subsidizing, a railroad in connection with this vast system across the State of Maine, to shorten the route to the cities of the eastern seaboard.

We are one people—in laws, religion, sympathy, and pursuits, and descended from a common origin, and our trade and intercourse are constantly growing in importance.

Look for a moment to the unlimited resources of that country, with her great lakes

and rivers and forests; with her natural storehouses of gold and silver, of coal, iron, copper, and lead. Her pastoral and agricultural resources are unlimited, and 1,500 miles northwest of St. Paul we find actually the great wheat fields of this continent, and which, when fully developed, will not only equal, but far surpass the great Odessa region in Russia, and 40,000 square miles of coal underlie this same territory.

These are some of the past and present conditions of our relations to this great country. The great question is what shall be their future? Shall we extend the same courtesy to her that we are extending to our southern neighbors? Why should we not? Shall we remove the custom house, or shall we support them by two lines of fortification, each nearly 4,000 miles long, the one built by ourselves and the other by our neighbors? It is for our government to say.